

*A. Maignan*

THE  
**Early Years**  
— OF —

THREE RIVERS.

by  
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## "THE EARLY YEARS OF THREE RIVERS."\*

This volume, written by Mr. B. Sulte, is in every way creditable to him. It is the result of reading and care, and is marked throughout by good taste and good feeling. Naturally Mr. Sulte writes as a French-Canadian. His motto is *faire aimer la patrie*, and he feels a laudable pride in the courage and endurance of his ancestors. Himself a native of Three Rivers, this work is a record of the early times of the city; gathered from original sources of inquiry, it must have been a labor of love. It contains much which in our condition of knowledge is original and trustworthy, and we do not doubt but hereafter future writers of history will quote his pages as an authority. The style is pleasing and animated, so that barren of interest and matter of fact, as many of the incidents naturally must be, he makes pleasant reading out of much that is common place. The task Mr. Sulte has set himself is to trace the history of an infant settlement, until it outgrew the troubles and trials which for forty years threatened its existence. His effort is to bring back these times vividly before us, and hence he portrays scenes of every day life, of which the account can have interest only from the view in which he places it, and from the memories the events themselves awaken.

Two important events changed the whole aspect of the world. The application of movable types to printing by Faust and Gutenberg, during the second half of the fifteenth century, and the Reformation, to which the stimulus given by printing to human intelligence to a considerable extent led some years later. We do not say this from what is called the Protestant standing point. When Luther commenced his crusade against the Papacy of that date, he had on his side men like Erasmus, Dean Colet and Sir Thomas Moore. No one with greater bitterness assailed the corruptions of the hour than Erasmus, but he hesitated when his companions went forward. But if his advance in opinion was not to the same extent, at least he gave his impress to the field where he remained, and whatever the word used may be, change undoubtedly followed in the life and government of the ancient religion. Half

a century later Layola started on his extraordinary career, and the influences which he created were in full force when the events chronicled in this volume were taking place. The Jesuit has played a large part in the early history of Canada, and for much of the time his action was uncontrolled, more especially in the years which Mr. Sulte chronicles. His power was supreme, as governor after governor experienced.

Mr. Sulte commences his history at the period when Three Rivers was the limit of European civilization. Montreal was then Hochelaga, a *bourg* of the savage, and the western waters had been scarcely frightened from their security by the strange apparition of a white face. The fort at Three Rivers was constructed in 1634. Some few colonists had established themselves within its shadow, and in a short time appeared the inevitable Jesuit Father, concealing under his unobtrusive humble look, the keenest ambition and a remorseless jealousy of the Recollet who had preceded him, intent on a policy which was to end in the ruin of the unhappy Red Man who became his convert, and to sap ever the larger domain of the continent the power of the race and the creed he was working so hard to establish on the traditional rock of faith. There were about 70 souls in the place at this date. The number increased scarcely to 100 in the next four years. But at this period the whole French population in Canada was scarcely 200. This handful of men was literally the advanced guard of civilization, and a stern fight they and their descendants had before them, in which for half a century their existence never ceased to be imperilled. These men came from Normandy as a rule—the ancestors of the race of the *coureur du bois*, and the descendants of those warriors who conquered England, whose deeds will live forever in the Tapestry of Bayeux. They came generally from Rouen, Caux, Fecamp and Fleury.

Champlain's map of 1632, which sets forth the explorations to within five years of its date, gives no indication of *habitation Francaise* above Quebec. But the records seem to establish, that as early as 1617, settlement commenced. The situation at that date was favorable to trade. Itself at the foot of the River St. Maurice, which was ascended to its source to cross the tributaries of the Gatineau, for that

\*Chronique Triluviennne par Benjamin Sulte, Montreal Compagnie d'Imprimerie Canadienne 1879.

river to be descended, so that the Ottawa could be gained. On the opposite shore, the mouth of the Richelieu, 45 miles to the west; while on the south shore the Rivers St. Francis and Nicolet are more immediately in the neighborhood. We can trace in these days much the same consequences as have hitherto taken place as settlement advances west. First came a few traders and Indians. As the numbers increase, the missionary appears upon the scene until a religious organization is established. The church was then built; and the fort followed, as the necessary protection against outward attack. Mr. Sulte tells us that Three Rivers held possession of the traffic for twenty years, and it was not until 1656 that Montreal, to any extent, partook of it. It was then that the great commerce of the West may be said to have taken its rise, and to control which the wars of the next century succeeded. However the quarrel may be described by other names, the real struggle was if the "peltry" and Indian wares should pass by the Mohawk to the Hudson and to New York, or whether it was to keep to the St. Lawrence, and take French ships to France, and if the supplies the Indians needed were to come by Quebec or New York. That struggle is still being continued. If not in the same form, at least as zealously. The Dominion expenditure on the canals has alone the end in view to bring the produce of the West to Montreal and the St. Lawrence. The enlargement of the navigation is to make it possible for vessels to start from Chicago for Europe, and to bring back an unbroken cargo of manufactured articles to an American port on Lake Michigan. The early inhabitants of the United States, the English colonists, was desirous that no canoe should pass below Lake Ontario, that it should ascend to the Mohawk and find its way to the Hudson. The struggle of *Neuve France* was to bring everything eastward. In the earlier history the St. Lawrence was not looked upon as the channel to the west; it was the Ottawa which was followed. The northern part of the Island of Montreal offered no such impediment as the Rapids of St. Louis, the Lachine Rapids. The river which flows at this city's base was taken to the mouth of the Matawan. This stream was followed, and the portage which led to Lake Nipissing and by the French River, Georgian Bay, was gained. Access was thus had to the Huron Country. The Jesuit Fort, the traces of which remain, near the line of the Midland Railway, was reached by this route. Ruins yet stand on the shore in the great bay, into which the Severn discharges, a branch of which penetrates to Penetanguishene, one of the most beautiful of the many picturesque sheets of water on the continent. It has been the fashion to speak of Jacques Cartier as the founder of Canada. Cartier certainly visited the country, and he passed a winter here. In 1534, his first voyage terminated at Gaspé. His second voyage was in 1535. He reached Montreal, passed a few days, and wintered at Quebec in 1536. † In 1540 he again sailed

to Canada in the expedition organized by Roberval, and returned to France in 1542. The mode of his departure gives one not too favorable a view of his character. Cartier then disappears from history. There is no trace of his presence, either in legislation, or manners, or jurisprudence, if we except the material memorial of some timbers found in the River St. Charles, which has been considered to be the remains of the *Hermina*. Cartier was not even the first to "discover" Canada. The country had been visited in 1518 by De Levis, and Verazzani, ten years previous to Cartier's expedition, penetrated the St. Lawrence. The loss of Verazzani in the expedition of 1525, for he was never heard of after leaving France, has caused his name to be lost sight of, and explains why so little is known of his previous voyage.

The real founder of Canada is Champlain, and any non-recognition of this fact is a disregard of history. Champlain appears on the scene for the first time in 1603, some thirty years before the records of Three Rivers are marked by any interest. From 1543 to 1598 no effort of any kind was made to fit out an expedition to the St. Lawrence or colonize the country. It was in 1542 that Cartier abandoned Roberval in the Harbour of Newfoundland, by all account, in the night time, Roberval pushed on to Quebec and wintered there, and in the following summer, leaving a band of some thirty behind him he returned to France. The fate of these men must ever remain unknown. In the succeeding year the brothers Roberval equipped a fleet, and proceeded to sea, but were never heard of. The vessel probably foundered. It was not until 1600 that Chauvin's expedition started for Canada, and made a settlement at Tadoussac. We do not hear that Quebec was reached. Certainly it was not until 1603 that Champlain ascended the St. Lawrence to visit Hochelaga, when his progress was stopped by the Lachine Rapids, to which he gave the name of the St. Louis Rapids. Thus sixty years had passed since the thirty Frenchmen had been left by Roberval at Quebec. It is strange that not a vestige of tradition clings to their memory, except the slight traces spoken of by Champlain. One would think that some trace of their presence would have been retained some slight vestige of their past, in the language in use when Champlain arrived. Some sound would have conveyed to his mind the fate of his abandoned, forlorn countrymen. Some weapon or utensil would have been found as a memento of their fate. We can picture to ourselves these men pining away one by one, hope having departed, and the feeling sinking into their souls. They had no home but with the red men, no lot but the Indian squaw and the filthy wigwam. Or did they make some effort to leave their prison, and regain their country in a vessel built by themselves. An impenetrable mystery covers them; no record of language, no utensil, no weapon, no tradition, was ever discovered to testify that they had lived and suffered. One theory

is plain, they could not have remained in the country, for they would have left children behind them in middle life when Champlain came. Were they attacked and killed and eaten in some terrible time of famine, or did they trust their fortunes to the seas? *Memoria est quam meus repetit illa quae fuerunt*, saith Cicero. But where can memory aid in the history of these first colonists, abandoned by their countrymen in France to their fate.

It was in 1608 that Champlain laid the foundations of Quebec, and became the founder of Canada. Champlain's words may again be quoted:—"Il n'en peu trouver de plus commode n'y mieux situe que la pointe de Quebec quainsai appelle des sauvages laquelle estoit remplie de noyers."

The early theories of Cartier's hopes seem to have been but slenderly entertained by Champlain. His good sense and his past experience did not lead him to look for the silver and gold of Peru. His duty was to found a colony, and there is little to show he had any taste, or in any way foresaw at that date any prospect of gain by commerce with the Indian. The fur trade was then unknown. A plentiful supply of furs could be obtained. But there were other requirements. If the trader grew out of the situation, the trader had to seek for furs, and he had to pay for them. Above all he had to be fed, and it was plain that the food could not come from France. Champlain, therefore, turned his first attention to the means of existing in the new land, and one of his efforts was to plant wheat and rye. The crop from this virgin soil must have been excellent. One of the early mistakes of Champlain was to listen to the representations of the Indians, and to interfere in their quarrels. The consequences were not foreseen. His temporary triumph brought terrible retribution. In after years the revenge it called forth threatened the destruction of the colony, and the feelings it created powerfully operated to narrow French domination within the limit which it could never permanently pass. The Algonquins persuaded Champlain to assist them against the Iroquois, the Five Nations, and this step was the commencement of a quarrel never to be terminated, while it powerfully contributed to the eventual uprooting of French power in British North America. It proved the cause of the utter destruction of the Hurons and the other Indians whose fortunes were linked with the French cause. It was during this expedition he discovered Lake Champlain, although these waters were doubtless well known to him by report. It was at the Chambly Rapids that he must have been stopped, when his men deserted him. But Champlain continued his route to Lake George, where the enemy was met and encountered. It was then that we see the commencement of that policy which will always be a blot on the French escutcheon in Canada. The Indians were allowed to torture their prisoners. It is said that so late as 1755, when Braddock was defeated by De Beaujeu, on the advance to Fort du

Quesne, the British soldiers who were made prisoners were tortured by their Indian allies. The Jesuits in no way discouraged this conduct. Their motto appears to have been *Laissez les faire*. Mr. Sulte gives an example of this feeling in his chronicle. We quote the words of this reliable writer in his own language, so we shall not be accused of misrepresentation:—

"On les attaqua vaillamment, mais en verite, ils soutinrent le choc avec un courage et une dextérité non attendus, mais au bout du compte se croyant trop faibles pour résister aux assauts qu'ils devaient attendre le jour suivant, ils demandèrent qu'on ne tirât point de part ni d'autre pendant la nuit, et cependant ils s'évadèrent à la sourdine devant la pointe du jour. 'Jean Amyot, plus rempli de courage qu'il n'a de corps,' les suivit à la piste et en découvrit un cache dans le tronc d'un arbre. Deux Iroquois avaient été blessés et sept fort blessés, ou trouva dans leur redoute quelques arquebuses plus grosses et plus longues que celles des Français. Deux sauvages du côté des Trifurviens avaient été tués et six Français blessés; l'un d'eux mourut peu après à Québec ou on les avait envoyés pour être soignés à l'Hôtel Dieu. Jean Amyot conduisit son prisonnier à Québec. Là on fit avouer à cet homme qu'il était l'assassin du Père Jogues. 'M. le gouverneur le tint en prison huit ou dix jours; enfin les sauvages de Sillery s'ennuyant, M. le Gouverneur le leur envoya; il fut brûlé le 16.

Il ne fut dans les tourments qu'une heure. Son corps fut jeté dans l'eau. Il fut baptisé et mourut bien."

(Journal des Jésuites, p. 95, "Relation" 1647, p. 73.)

The italics are ours.

The advantages of Three Rivers as a trading station were early seen, and these records commence when it emerged into something like a community. M. de Montmagny was then Governor General, and M. de Champou, Governor of Three Rivers. The place by this time had become the rendezvous of the Attamegues from the St. Maurice, and the Algonquins from Allumette Island. The word Huron, familiar to us, is French. The name comes from *hure*, the crest of the wild boar, to which, it was held, the head dress of the Indian bore some resemblance, and the term came to be used to distinguish the friendly Indians, who embraced Christianity, in distinction to those of the Five Nations, at enmity with them. There was a chronic state of war; the French were few in number, uncared for in France, incapable, from their poverty of resources, of the least aggressive movement. The Iroquois, numerous, warlike, utterly false and treacherous, offered peace when events on the Mohawk made an enemy the less necessary, and broke the truce if they held it advantageous to recommence aggression. In the neighborhood of Three Rivers the Algonquins made some efforts towards clearing the land and settling down, but neither white nor red man could count upon reaping his harvest. Three Rivers appears to have



early gained the preference over Quebec with its Indian visitors. It was nearer to the West, and possibly more *sans facon*. But the establishment of Montreal ultimately interfered with the advantages it possessed. In 1640 there was the usual alarm. Two white men had been seized in the winter of 1641, close to the rising town. One would scarcely have expected that the Iroquois would have been in hiding in February, but such was the case, and the possession of these men led to an expedition, consisting of twenty canoes, in which the double purpose appears to have been to detach the French from any alliance with the Algonquins, and to obtain firearms. The Iroquois, in spite of the poverty of numbers and resources of the French, felt their rising power, and found themselves unable to cope with their ancient enemies when ranged with the new comers. The two men were brought in by the expedition, and it was hoped that by their intervention the end in view could be accomplished. There was another incidental request. The Indians demanded thirty-six guns. Marguerie, one of the persons who, on *parole*, carried the message, is recorded to have played the heroic part of Regulus. Himself a prisoner, sent as a hostage, with the prospect of having his fingers cut off one by one, his nose slit, his eyeballs stripped, and finally to be burned—cast all the thought of self aside, and recommended the refusal of the request. But time had to be gained. A canoe was sent off to Quebec for the Governor-General and negotiations were opened, the Indians being given to understand that it was only the Governor-General who could enter into a treaty that was binding. They therefore settled themselves down, protected themselves with trees in the form they followed, and waited his arrival. M. Montmagny came. One of the first sights he witnessed was an Algonquin canoe taken, the women kicked and the man carried off a prisoner. A meeting was held, the Indians gave over the white men, and it was understood that M. Montmagny was to visit the Iroquois in the morning. The scheme appears to have been to seize the Governor-General himself, and to have made his exchange the basis of future demands. But the scheme failed, for, from the commencement, the French declined to enter into any arrangement which would not comprehend their Indian allies. In the meantime an armed sloop arrived from Quebec. The Iroquois saw that they had to deal with men who believed that their best protection was in force. The Indians therefore declined any further meeting, and waved the scalp of an Algonquin in defiance, and made preparations for their return. Their encampment was attacked by cannon. Leaving fires during the night in the first fort, they vacated it for a second fort, which they had constructed in their rear, and so managed to retreat with little loss; the cannon, however, caused great dread.

For some years, until about 1680, the colony was constantly subjected to scenes of this character. The records are of greater or less interest, but they are marked on the part of the Indian

by the same ferocity and craft, by the Frenchman with the same constancy and courage. Entirely neglected by France, the wonder is the French Canadian was not swept away. That such was not the case was owing entirely to his gallantry and endurance. The neglect of the Colonist in America by the French Government was to a great extent the result of the religious character given to the emigration. There were doubtless thousands of Protestants in France who would have thrown their fortunes with their countrymen. The difficulties of the hour would have given more serious occupation than quarrels about the extent of the real presence and the number of sacraments. One thousand Frenchmen of any creed would have chased these Indians to their strongholds, and in a few months would have taught them a lesson the red man never would have forgotten. But the Jesuit was there with his narrow, gloomy, uncompromising faith. Careless of his own life, he was equally indifferent to the happiness and welfare of others. Garneau well says he desired to make a Paraguay of Canada. Ready to devote himself to flames and torture, possessing the courage of the intolerance of fanaticism, he started for the west doubtful if he would reach the first rapid above Montreal. When tortured and burnt, another took his place. One feels how more wisely and nobly all this devotion may have been exercised. It was in this struggle in France, as in most others, that the real object was lost sight of. The dread of Protestantism with the governing classes was something more than mere dogma. As in England, the fear of Puritanism was that it would engender thoughts of personal rights and liberty, which would shake existing institutions. The persecution by the Anglican prelates of any freedom of thought in religion, which culminated under Laud, concealed the desire to crush any effort for greater personal liberty: a struggle to take the form of war turmoil and difficulty for nearly a century and which really and in fact only took a settled form in the third decade of this century. The leaders in France knew well what they were battling for. Sully tells us that when Protestantism seemed on the eve of triumphing, Catharine de Medicis remarked, "We shall then say our prayers in French instead of in Latin."† But the ductile mind of the people had no such complaisant opinions. They were taught early in life a deep and rooted bigotry, as the end of their being, and under its influence for 40 years their countrymen in Canada were left on the verge of destruction.

But the French in Canada never lost their self assertion, and their fortitude was unshaken. They must have felt that their lives depended on their own efforts alone. They felt that their safety lay in the fears of their enemies. Taking prisoner in 1652, Agontarisati, with one ta Alleurat, two of the most formidable of their enemies, they burnt them at Three Rivers. No one can deny the necessity of this act. The Indians, of course, were duly christened before execution, *sine ceremoniis*. Prior Franciscus

vocatus est, [posterior Franciscus, so runs the Jesuit record. There was no hesitation in Three Rivers, and it was felt that there could be none. In August of the same year the Governor, M. Duplessis Bochart, hearing that some inhabitants of the place had been attacked at the entrance of the Saint Maurice by some Iroquois canoes, he at once organized an expedition against the Indians, who were in hiding at Cap de la Madelaine. Seeing the enemy he attempted to land among the sedge and reeds, trusting to his gallantry and courage. In a few moments he fell dead. Seven of his countrymen were sacrificed with him, some dying of their wounds, and one being burnt. Mr. Sulte gives the names of the 15 killed and wounded.

It is not possible, in our limits, to run through the record of these events. The struggle still continued. M. Boucher has left a record of the state of feeling. "A wife is ever fearful that her husband who in the morning has started for his work, may be taken or killed, and she may never again see him. For this reason the *habitants* are generally poor. The Iroquois kill their cattle and prevent the crops from being harvested, burning or pillaging the farms as occasion offers."

It was this same Boucher, whose name must ever be remembered in the annals of Canada as having been the principal instrument in turning the aspect of affairs. In 1661 he went to France accredited by their Governor, M. D'Avangour. Colbert was then in the ascendant. Boucher obtained the ear of the king, and awoke his desire to extend his glories by the firm establishment of La Nouvelle France. The result was that reinforcements were sent. They, however, tardily came, still their presence gave hope and vigor to the colonists. They were followed by others; finally the celebrated Carignan Regiment arrived, and the days of Iroquois terror passed away forever from Three Rivers.

But from the days of Champlain to Tracy the colony passed through a terrible ordeal. Its first forty years of life has but few parallels in modern history. In 1621 the European population of Canada was under fifty, and new blood was but slowly poured in from Europe. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that Quebec was taken by an English expedition, under Sir David Kirk, in 1629. There was a strong party in France to consider La Nouvelle France as a costly and dangerous acquisition, what had been well got rid of. The French ambassador in London had the reputation of entertaining this view. Men of this calibre are found in every community. We have in Canada some isolated individuals possessing some extraordinary theories with regard to ourselves and our connection with England. But their influence is on a par with their merit and their doctrine. The public mind in no way recognizes their existence, and they are held on a par with Swift's "Three Tailors of Tooley Street," who commenced their manifesto with "We, the people of England!" Nations are not moved by the querulous crotchets of a theocrat. In the moment

of emergency the mind of a nation becomes awakened, and such flimsy follies are swept away by public indignation like cobwebs. The public opinion of France in those days was the opinion of the Court. Champlain's genius ranged it on his side, and his representation to Richelieu led to the adoption of opposite views. Champlain knew and understood the wealth and value of Canada, and a series of Champlains might have changed the destiny of the country. The treaty of St. Germain accordingly restored French Canada to France, and in 1633 an expedition started with new settlers. We may say that it is really at this date that the history of Canada as a colony commences. In the early stage of the adventure the effort had been to get adventurous spirits to cross the seas. Religion had had little influence with the choice. Two-thirds of Champlain's crews had been protestants. Under the great Henry and Sully toleration had been permitted. But the Protestants, yearning for personal liberty, ill accorded with the arbitrary theories of the French court. It was resolved that such aspirations should be excluded from the new settlement, and that when any Protestant offered to join the expedition, he should be refused. It was determined that hereafter in America, the taint of what is called heresy should not exist. Champlain is spoken as being very strict as well as religious, but of dogmatic views. There is nothing to show that he did more than conform to the views of the French Court. Frenchmen in those days of his character had few philosophical opinions, and they changed from one side to the other as their interests dictated. It remained for the next century to produce the men who should turn the current of thought in Europe. The proximity of the Protestant colonies of New England and on the Hudson, then called the Orange River, suggested to French statesmen the policy of raising up in Canada a totally different language and creed, which could not be tempted to swerve from its allegiance and orthodoxy, whose prejudices in no way relieved by education, could ever be appealed to and excited. Had the dagger of Ravilliac not destroyed the career of Henry so soon after Champlain's first expedition, Champlain's life, to our mind, would have taken a different impression, for he was thoroughly and truly a great man, above that deformity and passion, and the mean malignant instincts which are the invariable accompaniments of bitterness, mediocrity, and dishonesty. The Governors who followed Champlain, —till we come to Tracy—excepting his immediate successor, Montmagny, were not men of capacity, and were not fitted to deal with the difficulties which threatened the life of the community. Montmagny had the examples and traditions of Champlain, moreover, he did not suffer from the same difficulties which marked his successors—the efforts of the Jesuits to control the whole policy and government of the country, and to place the state at the foot of the church. Montmagny remained until 1647. As early as 1615, the Recol-

lets had established themselves in the colony. The Jesuits did not appear until 1625, and it was not until ten years later they commenced their remarkable missions. It was after Montmagny's departure, in 1648 and 1649, that the Hurons were destroyed, and Brebœuf and Lallement tortured and burned. D'Ailleboust was a man entirely deficient in energy. Lauzon was insulted by the Indians under the very guns of Quebec. D'Argenson better understood the situation, and asked for troops to commence an aggressive movement on the Iroquois, but no aid was forthcoming from France, and he was continually thwarted by Bishop Laval, intent on establishing the pre-eminence of the church, and who finally obtained his removal. D'Avanjour, who succeeded him was a blunt soldier, but was equally powerless. He was recalled from the same influences, as not sufficiently plastic. DeMery followed, to be persecuted as his predecessors. He died in two years, and Tracy came in 1635. It was his vigorous policy which changed the fate of the country, and that such was the case was owing to the mission of Boucher to France, who, to have attained his purpose, must have been a remarkably able man. Boucher came to Canada when only seven years of age, and he may claim to be the first native Canadian of eminence. That he was the first Canadian ennobled by Louis XIV. is a trifling matter compared to the reputation he has left of honesty, ability, courage and worth. We may add here that it is one of the most curious points of Three Rivers history that the first men ennobled were all from Three Rivers—Boucher, Godefroy, Hertel and Le Neuf. Mr. Sulte traces the various branches of these families. Senator de Boucherville yet represents the first of these names. The family of Godefroy have lost their ancient splendor. M. de Hertel, is also not among the wealthy, Le Neuf, left Canada at the conquest.

Possibly no more enterprising expedition was ever undertaken than that under Courcelles in 1666. We know the fact not simply from French report, but from the narrative which is given of the expedition in the documentary history of New York. In the depth of winter Courcelles, with 600 volunteers, passed along the frozen St. Lawrence, marching on snowshoes, carrying their provisions on *traineaux*, till the Richelieu was reached. The Richelieu was then ascended to Lake Champlain—crossing to Lake George, then known as Lac du Sacrament, the waters were traced to where the fort of William Henry was afterwards built, and the trail was taken to the Iroquois country, but, says the English record, 'by mistake of his guides happened to fall short of the castles of the Mahaukes, and to encamp within two miles of a small village called Schonectede. The consequence was a deputation was sent to Monsieur Coursell, to inquire of his intention in bringing such a body of armed men into the dominions of His Majesty of Great Britain.' 'Surely,' saith the writer, 'so bold and hardy an attempt (circumstances consid-

ered) hath not happened in any age.' Courcelles got safely back, but he lost some men, having dropped into an ambush consisting of near 200 Mohawks, planted behind trees, who at one volley slew eleven Frenchmen whereof one was a lieutenant. The wounded men were sent to Albany. Experience had now established that there could be no safety for Canada until the Iroquois were made incapable of injuring the settlers. A series of forts was therefore constructed along the waters by which he approached. One at the junction of the Richelieu and St. Lawrence; one, the celebrated Chambly Fort, at the foot of the rapids; one a league to the south at St. Therese; one which gave rise to the present town of St. John's, on the Richelieu; one, Fort St. Frederick, at Crown Point, and eventually Fort Ticonderoga was built. It is not shown on the Carte du Lac Champlain of 1748, par le Sr. Auger, arpenteur du Roy en 1732 fait a Quebec le 10 Octobre, 1748. Signe, De Lery. Lake George was then known as Lac St. Sacrament. The English forts commenced at the Great Portage, between the waters of Lake Champlain and the Hudson. The first was built in 1711. There was also another fort on Lake Champlain, St. Anne, on Isle La Motte, about twenty leagues above Chambly. It was here that Dollier de Casson passed a winter.

It was in 1636 that Tracy organized his expedition, and inflicted the chastisement on the Indians which led them to keep their peace for twenty years. He commenced by hanging a boasting scoundrel at Quebec, who, at his own table, declared he had murdered the Governor's nephew, young Chasy. With 1,300 men, in the early autumn weather, when the heat had passed, and the swamps were dry, and the flies, that pest of Canadian sylvan life, had disappeared, he followed the track of Courcelles. His success must have exceeded his expectations. He burned five Iroquois fortifications—with the food they contained, retaining only what was necessary for himself, and took possession of the country for his master—so far as ceremonial went—and returned to Quebec.

The result of the peace is evident. In 1688 the population increased to 11,249; in 1667 it was something over 4,300.

But the French Canadian remained poor. § It was not until he lived under the blessings of English liberty that he became rich and independent. He had nothing to learn in the shape of gallantry, courage and endurance. When we praise the Jesuits for their courage and fortitude, we omit to state that it was simply the tone of the country. Every man carried his life in his hand. He never knew what the day would bring forth. When danger came he had to meet it. He could not count the odds, and he could never better his situation by hesitating to face it. His life was one unceasing struggle against numbers, but he remained undaunted and self-reliant, with his nerve unshaken and his heart true and firm and right.



He was thrifty and industrious, but he could get no further than merely living. Nobody was in want, but there was no money. Canada was regarded in France as an *annexe* where the Mother Country could obtain the articles she wanted, and where she could sell the articles she manufactured. Therefore the French Canadians could only buy and sell in France. But in the days of Iroquois invasions there was scarcely anything to sell, for the commerce in furs was nearly destroyed, and by all accounts money was not often handled and rarely even seen. Later in the history of Canada it was the habit of the officials to deal in all sorts of merchandise, making what in modern language is called "rings" to keep out the legitimate trade. There was then what was always met in such circumstances, favored individuals became rich, while the country was impoverished. The people existed.

We are getting, however, entirely beyond the limit of Mr. Sulte's labor, which closes at 1665. With men of education, and with all those acquainted with the epoch of which he treats, he will obtain consideration. Literature, however, has so few rewards in Canada, that we question if he will gain any substantial recognition of what he has done. He has the satisfaction, however, of knowing that he has added some pages to Canadian literature, which will not pass away, but be quoted with Charlevoix, Le Mercier, and Mere L'Incarnation, for he has revived the past by the original records. We have only one piece of criticism to make. He introduces the numeral "8" (*huit*) to express the W. For example, Isond8tannen. It seems some of the Jesuit writers took this course, and Messrs. Laverdier & Casgrain printed the text of the Jesuit journal in this form. These Indian languages have passed away, and hence there is little consideration required for any delicacy of sound regarding them. But were it otherwise, and if there be no W in French we have *ou* or *gu* to represent it. Surely we do not require a new letter to bring out this nice distinction in Indian, when we can exist without it in Paris in the type of the dramas of the Theatre Francais or the "Sermons of Notre Dame." To our mind, it is too much like the enthusiasm of the *Fonetik Nuz*: we never hope to meet it again. Even the merits of Mr. Sulte fail to reconcile us with this formidable innovation.

There is one more point before we close, on which we wish to speak. We have said that the time has come when Jacques Cartier should take his true place in history—not metaphorically but actually, descend from the pedestal where it is proposed to place him. For there has been some talk of erecting a statue to him. There be any statue raised to the founder of Canada it should be to Champlain; and we believe that there is not a voice in Canada which would not accord with this honor to the memory of a great man. If we put ourselves right in this respect, there is another minor point which exacts attention. The late Sir George Cartier always insisted that the word Dominion should be translated by *puis-*

*sance*. He appears to have got bewildered in this respect, and that he made it a personal matter. Any contradiction with regard to it, he almost regarded as an insult. His personal qualities led many to accept his views. But we never heard any one justify it. Years have gone over since poor Sir George passed away, and it is with no desire to wound his memory that we say the time has come when we should cease to appear ridiculous in the eyes of the French *litterateur* and of all French scholars. The proper translation of the word Dominion, is to gallicise the word with a masculine noun *Le Dominion*. If this be objected to there is *la Confederation Canadienne*. But are we a Confederation? Has not the word Dominion the greater significance? We put it to any French Canadian man of letters if this view is not correct, to Mr. Sulte himself, to Arthur Buies, Chauveau Abbe Casgrain, Hector Fabre, even to Mr. Pagnuelo, or the distinguished Father Braun, or the author of *La Comedie Infernale*. Mr. Baby and Mr. Masson are both students of Canadian history and collectors of Canadian books and portraits, we would leave the point with them. Indeed with any man of sense who knows French, and we are very sure that he will say with us that to translate the English word Dominion, as we use it by the term *Puissance* is simply a folly.

Perhaps some of the gentlemen we name may take the matter up. Why not our friend Mr. Sulte, of whom, we trust, we only take leave for a short period.

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NOTE—See page 2.

† "Plus proche du dit Quebec, y a une petite riviere qui vient dedans les terres d'un lac distant de nostre habitation de six a sept lieues. Je tiens que dans cette riviere qui est au nord et un quart du Nordouest de nostre habitation, ce fut le lieu ou Jacques Cartier y verna, d'autant qu'il y a encores a une lieue dans la riviere des vestiges comme d'une cheminee, dont on a trouve le fondement, et apparence d'y avoir en des fosses autour de leur logement, qui estoit petit. Nous trouvames aussi de grandes pieces de bois escarries, verroulues et quelques troisou quatre balles de canon. Toutes ces choses monstrent evidemment que c'a este une habitation, laquelle a este fondee par des Chretiens."—Œuvres de Champlain, Book III, ch. 4, Voy. 1608.

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NOTE—See page 4.

† "On a Soutenu que l'interet de la vraie religion entrât pour rien, dans la politique de cette riviere. Temoin cette parole qu'on lui entendit dire, 'torsk' elle crut la bataille de Dreux perdue: 'Eh! bien, nous prions Dieu en Francais.'"—Note Sully's Memoirs—An 1586. Vol. I.

NOTE—See page 6.

§ Il regne dans la Nouvelle-Angleterre une opulence dont il semble qu'en ne sait point profiter, et dans la nouvelle France, une pauvreté cachée par un air d'aisance qui ne paroît point étudier. Le commerce et la culture des plantations fortifient la première, l'industrie des habitans soutient la seconde, et le goût de la nation y repand un agrément infini. Le colon Anglois amasse du bien et ne fait aucune dépense, superflue, le François point de ce qu'il a et souvent fait parade de ce qu'il n'a point. Celui-là travaille pour ses héritiers, celui-ci laisse les siens dans la nécessité ou il s'est trouvé lui-même, de se tirer d'affaire comme il pourra. Les Anglois-Américains ne veulent point de guerre, parce qu'ils ont beaucoup à perdre; ils ne menagent point les sauvages, parce qu'ils ne croient point en avoir besoin. La jeunesse française, par

les raisons contraires, déteste la paix, et vit bien avec les naturels du pays, dont elle s'attire aisément l'estime pendant la guerre, et l'amitié en tout temps. . . . Tout le monde a ici le nécessaire pour vivre: on y paye peu au Roi; l'habitant ne connaît point la taille; il a du pain à bon marché, la viande et le poisson n'y sont pas chers; mais le vin, les étoffes et tout ce qu'il faut faire venir de France coûtent beaucoup. Les plus à plaindre sont les gentilshommes et les officiers qui n'ont que leurs appointements, et qui sont chargés de famille. Les femmes n'apprennent ordinairement pour dot à leurs maris que beaucoup d'esprit, d'amitié, d'agréments et une grande fécondité. Dieu repand sur les mariages, dans ce pays, la bénédiction qu'il repandoit sur ceux des patriarches; il faudroit, pour faire subsister de si nombreuses familles, qu'on y menât aussi la vie des patriarches, mais le temps en est passé. K.

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